

# M'KINLEY'S MESSAGE

## Text of President's Annual Address.

### POLICY IN THE PHILIPPINES

#### Rebellion Is Nearly Ended and Makes Recommendation for Future Government—All Governments Are Friendly to the United States—Favors Gold.

#### To the Senate and House of Representatives:

At the threshold of your deliberations you are called to mourn with your countrymen the death of Vice-President Hobart, who passed from this life on the morning of November 21 last. His great soul now rests in eternal peace. His private life was pure and elevated, while his public career was ever distinguished by large capacity, stainless integrity and exalted motives. He has been removed from the high office which he honored and dignified, but his lofty character, his devotion to duty his honesty of purpose and noble virtues remain with us as a priceless legacy and example.

#### CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY.

##### Prosperity at Home and Peace With All Governments.

The 56th congress convenes in its first regular session with the country in a condition of unusual prosperity, of universal good-will among the people at home and relations of peace and friendship with every government of the world. Our foreign commerce has shown great increase in volume and value. The combined imports and exports for the year are the largest ever shown by a single year in our history. Our exports for 1899 alone exceeded by more than \$1,000,000 our imports and exports combined in 1870. The imports per capita are 20 per cent less than in 1870, while the exports per capita are 58 per cent more than in 1870, showing the enlarged capacity of the United States to satisfy the wants of its own increasing population, as well as to contribute to those of the peoples of other nations. Exports of agricultural products were \$754,776,112. Of manufactured products we exported in value \$329,592,154, being larger than any previous year. It is a noteworthy fact that the only years in our history when the products of our manufactures sold abroad exceeded those bought abroad were 1888 and 1899.

#### FINANCES OF THE NATION.

##### Receipts and Disbursements for the Last Fiscal Year.

Government receipts from all sources for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1899, including \$11,798,314 1/4, part payment of the Central Pacific indebtedness, aggregated \$319,882,094 35. Of this sum, customs receipts were \$306,128,481 75, and those from internal revenue \$73,437,161 51. For the fiscal year the expenditures were \$300,033,564 62, leaving a deficit of \$39,111,559 67. The secretary of the treasury estimates that the receipts for the current fiscal year will aggregate \$640,958,112, and upon the basis of present appropriations the expenditures will aggregate \$600,558,112, leaving \$40,000,000. For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1899, the internal revenue receipts were increased about \$100,000,000.

#### THE GOLD STANDARD.

##### A Fitting Time to Make Provision for Its Continuance.

I urgently recommend that, to support the existing gold standard and to maintain the parity in value of the coins of two metals (gold and silver) and the full power of every dollar at a free market and in the hands of the people, the secretary of the treasury be authorized to sell United States bonds to such other effective means as may be necessary to these ends. It is also recommended that the secretary be authorized to purchase of interest lower than 10 per cent, and to withdraw gold from the government, but, on the contrary, such widespread confidence that gold seeks the treasury, demanding paper money in exchange, yet the very situation points to the present as the most fitting time to make adequate provision to insure the continuance of the gold standard and of public confidence in the ability and purpose of the government to meet all its obligations in the money which the civilized world recognizes as the best.

#### OUR MERCHANT MARINE.

##### Industrial Greatness Should Be Supplemented by Sea Progress.

The value of an American merchant marine to the extension of our commercial trade and the strengthening of our power upon the sea invites the immediate action of congress. Our national development will be one-sided and unsatisfactory so long as the remarkable growth of our inland industries remains unaccompanied by progress on the sea. There is no lack of constitutional authority for legislation which shall give to the country maritime strength commensurate with its industrial achievements and with its rank among nations of the earth. The past year has recorded exceptional activity in our shipyards, and the promises of continual prosperity in shipbuilding are abundant. Advanced legislation for the protection of our seamen has been enacted. Our coast trade, under regulations wisely framed at the beginning of the government and since, shows results for the past fiscal year unequalled in our records or those of any other power. We shall fail to realize our opportunities, however, if we complacently regard only matters at home and blind ourselves to the necessity of securing our share in the valuable carrying trade of the world.

Last year American vessels transported a smaller share of our exports and imports than during any former year in all our history, and the measure of our dependence upon foreign shipping was painfully manifested to our people. Without any choice of our own, but from necessity, the departments of the government charged with military and naval operations in the East and in the West Indies had to ob-

tain from foreign flags merchant vessels essential for these operations.

#### PROBLEM OF THE TRUSTS.

##### Need of Early Amendment of the Existing Law.

Combinations of capital, organized into trusts to control the conditions of trade among our citizens, to stifle competition, limit production, and determine the prices of products consumed by the people, are provoking public discussion and should early claim the attention of congress. The industrial commission created by the act of congress of June 18, 1898, has been engaged in extended hearings upon the disputed questions involved in the subject of combinations in restraint of trade and competition. They have not yet completed the investigation of this subject, and the conclusions and recommendations at which they may arrive are undetermined. The subject is one giving rise to many divergent views as to the nature and variety of cause and extent of the injuries to the public which may arise from large combinations concentrating more or less numerous enterprises and establishments, which previous to the formation of the combination were carried on separately. It is universally conceded that combinations which engross or control the market of any particular kind of merchandise or commodity necessary to the general community by suppressing natural and ordinary competition, whereby prices are unduly enhanced to the general consumer, are obnoxious not only to the common law, but also to the public welfare. There must be a remedy for the evils involved in such organizations. If the present law can be extended more certainly to control or check these monopolies or trusts, it should be done without delay. Whatever power the congress possesses over this most important subject should be promptly ascertained and asserted.

#### FOREIGN RELATIONS.

##### No Dispute of Serious Character With Any Government.

A review of our relations with foreign states is presented, with such recommendations as are deemed appropriate. In my last annual message I adverted to the claim of the Austro-Hungarian government for indemnity for the killing of certain Austrian and Hungarian subjects by the authorities of the state of Pennsylvania, at Lattimer, while suppressing an unlawful tumult of miners, September 10, 1897. In view of the verdict of acquittal rendered by the court before which the sheriff and his deputies were tried for murder, and following the established doctrine that the government may not be held accountable for injuries suffered by individuals at the hands of the public authorities while acting in the line of duty in suppressing disturbances of the public peace, this government, after due consideration of the claim advanced by the Austro-Hungarian government, was constrained to decline liability to indemnify the sufferers. It is gratifying to be able to announce that the Belgian government has mitigated the restrictions on the importation of cattle from the United States, to which I referred in my last annual message.

#### NICARAGUA CANAL.

##### Status of the Negotiations for the Inter-Ocean Waterway.

The contract of the Maritime Canal Company, of Nicaragua, was declared forfeited by the Nicaraguan government on the 10th of October, on the ground of nonfulfillment within the 10-year term stipulated in the contract. The Maritime Canal Company has lodged a protest against this action, alleging rights in the premises which appear worthy of consideration. This government expects that Nicaragua will afford the protestants a full and fair hearing upon the merits of the case.

The Nicaragua canal commission, which has been engaged upon the work of examination and survey of a ship canal route across Nicaragua, having completed its labors and made its report, was dissolved on May 21, and on June 10 a new commission, known as the Isthmian canal commission, was organized under the terms of the act approved March 3, 1899, for the purpose of examining the American isthmus with a view to determining the most practicable and feasible route across that isthmus, and other valuable cost and other matters.

This commission, under the command of Rear-Admiral John D. Sigsbee (retired), upon the work intrusted to it, is now trying on examining the route of the canal. The commission, under the command of Rear-Admiral John D. Sigsbee (retired), upon the work intrusted to it, is now trying on examining the route of the canal. The commission, under the command of Rear-Admiral John D. Sigsbee (retired), upon the work intrusted to it, is now trying on examining the route of the canal.

The great importance of this work cannot be too often or too strongly pressed upon the attention of the congress. In my message of a year ago I expressed my views of the necessity of a canal which would link the two great oceans, to which I again invite your consideration. The reasons then presented for early action are even stronger now.

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND CANADA.

##### Alaska Boundary Contention and Other Unsettled Questions.

In my last annual message, I referred to the pending negotiations with Great Britain in respect to the Dominion of Canada. By means of an executive agreement, a joint high commission had been created for the purpose of adjusting all unsettled questions between the United States and Canada, embracing 12 subjects, among which were the questions of the fur seals, the fisheries of the coast and contiguous inland waters, the Alaska boundary, the transit of merchandise in bond, the alien labor laws, mining rights, reciprocity in trade, revision of the agreement respecting naval vessels in the Great Lakes, a more complete marking of parts of the boundary, provision for the conveyance of criminals, and for wrecking and salvage.

Much progress had been made by the commission toward the adjustment of many of these questions, when it became apparent that an irreconcilable difference of views was entertained respecting the delimitation of the Alaska boundary. In the failure of an agreement to the meaning of articles III and IV of the treaty of 1825 between Russia and Great Britain, which defined the boundary between Alaska and Canada, the American commissioners proposed that the subject of the boundary be laid aside, and that the remaining questions of difference be proceeded with, some of which were so far advanced as to assure the probability of a settlement. This being declined by the

British commissioners, an adjournment was taken until the boundary should be adjusted by the two governments. The subject has been receiving the careful attention which its importance demands, with the result that a modus vivendi for provisional demarcations in the region about the head of Lynn canal has been agreed upon, and it is hoped that the negotiations now in progress between the two governments will end in an agreement for the establishment and delimitation of a permanent boundary.

#### Attitude in Anglo-Boer War.

Apart from those questions growing out of our relationship with our northern neighbor, the most friendly disposition and ready agreement have marked the discussion of the numerous matters arising in the vast and intimate intercourse of the United States with Great Britain. This government has maintained an attitude of neutrality in the unfortunate contest between Great Britain and the Boer states of Africa. We have remained faithful to the precept of avoiding entangling alliances as to affairs not of our own direct concern. Had circumstances suggested that the parties to the quarrel would have welcomed any kind of expression of the hope of the American people that the war might be averted, good offices would have been gladly tendered. The United States representative at Pretoria was early instructed to see that all neutral American interests be respected by the combatants. This has been an easy task, in view of the positive declarations of both British and Boer authorities that the personal and property rights of our citizens should be observed.

Upon the withdrawal of the British agent from Pretoria, the United States consul was authorized, upon the request of the British government, and with the assent of the South African and Orange Free State governments, to exercise the customary good offices of a neutral for the care of British interests. In the discharge of this function I am happy to say that abundant opportunity has been afforded to show the impartiality of this government to both the combatants for the fourth time in the present decade.

#### THE PHILIPPINE QUESTION.

##### Acquisition of the Islands—The Filipino Insurrection.

On the 10th of December, 1898, the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain was signed. It provided, among other things, that Spain should cede to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands, that the United States should pay to Spain the sum of \$20,000,000, and that the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories thus ceded to the United States should be determined by the congress. The treaty was ratified by the senate on the 6th of February, 1899, and by the government of Spain on the 10th of March following. The ratifications were exchanged on the 11th of April, and the treaty publicly proclaimed. On the 21 of March, the congress voted the sum contemplated by the treaty, and the amount was paid over to the Spanish government on the 1st of May. In this manner the Philippines came to the United States. The islands were ceded by the government of Spain, which had been in undisputed possession of them for centuries. They were accepted not merely by our authorized commissioners in Paris, under the direction of the executive, but by the constitutional and well-considered action of the representatives of the people of the United States in both houses of congress.

I had every reason to believe, and I still believe, that this transfer of sovereignty was in accordance with the wishes and the aspirations of the great mass of the Filipino people. From the earliest moment no opportunity was lost of assuring the people of the islands of our ardent desire for their welfare and of the intention of this government to do everything possible to advance their interests. In my order of the 19th of May, 1898, the commander of the military expedition dispatched to the Philippines was instructed to declare that we came not to make war on the people of the country, "nor upon any part or faction among them, but to protect them in their homes, in their employments and in their personal and religious rights." That there should be no doubt as to the paramount authority there, on the 17th of August, it was directed that "there must be no joint occupation with the insurgents"; that the United States must preserve the peace and protect persons and property within the territory occupied by the insurgents and all others must recognize the military occupation and authority of the United States. As early as December 4, before the cessation and in anticipation of that event, the commander in Manila was urged to restore peace and tranquility, and to undertake the establishment of a beneficent government, which should afford the fullest security for life and property.

On the 21st of December, after the treaty was signed, the commander of the forces of occupation was instructed "to announce and proclaim, in the most public manner, that we come, not as invaders and conquerors, but as friends to protect the natives in their homes, in their employments and in their personal and religious rights." The same day, while ordering General Otis to see that peace should be preserved in Ilo Ilo, he was admonished that: "It is most important that there should be no conflict with the insurgents." On the first day of January, 1899, general orders reiterated that the kindly intentions of this government should in every possible way, be communicated to the insurgents.

#### The Philippine Commission.

On the 21st of January, I announced my intention of dispatching to Manila a commission composed of three gentlemen of the highest character and distinction, thoroughly acquainted with the Orient, who, in association with Admiral Dewey and Major-General Otis, were instructed to "facilitate the most humane and effective ends and to secure, with the least possible delay, the benefits of a wise and generous protection of life and property to the inhabitants." These gentlemen were Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman, president of Cornell university; the Hon. Charles Demby, for many years minister to China, and Professor Dean C. Worcester, of the university of Michigan, who had made a most careful study of life in the Philippines.

While the treaty of peace was under consideration in the senate, these commissioners set out on their mission of good will and liberation. Their character was a sufficient guaranty of the beneficent purpose with which they went, even if they had not borne the positive instructions of this government which made their errand pre-eminently one of peace and friendship. But before their arrival in Manila, the sinister ambition of a few leaders of the Philippines had created a situation full of embarrassments for us and most grievous in its consequences to themselves.

The clear and impartial preliminary report of the commissioners, which I transmit herewith, gives so lucid and comprehensive a history of the present insurrec-

tionary movement that the story need not be here repeated. It is enough to say that the claim of the rebel leader, that he was promised independence by any officer of the United States in return for his assistance has no foundation in fact, and is categorically denied by the very witnesses who were called to prove it. The most the insurgent leader hoped for when he came back to Manila from the liberation of the islands from the Spanish control, which they had been laboring for years, without success, to throw off.

#### Outbreak of the Insurrection.

The prompt accomplishment of this work by the American army and navy gave him other ideas and ambitions, and insidious suggestions from various quarters perverted the purposes and intentions with which he had taken up arms. No sooner had our army captured Manila than the Filipino forces began to assume an attitude of suspicion and hostility, which the utmost efforts of our officers and troops were unable to disarm or modify. Their kindness and forbearance was taken as a proof of cowardice. The aggression of the Filipinos continually increased, until, finally, just before the time set for the senate of the United States to vote upon the treaty, an attack, evidently prepared in advance, was made all along the American lines, which resulted in a terribly destructive and sanguinary repulse of the insurgents.

Ten days later an order of the insurgent government was issued to its adherents who had remained in Manila, of which General Otis justly observes that "for barbarous intent it is unequalled in modern times." It directed that at 8 o'clock on the night of the 14th of February, the territorial militia shall come together in the streets of San Pedro, armed with their bolos, with guns and ammunition where convenient; that Filipino families only shall be respected; that all other individuals, of whatever race they may be, shall be exterminated without any compassion, after the extermination of the army of occupation, and added: "Brothers, we must avenge ourselves on the Americans and exterminate them, that we may take their revenge for the infamies and treacheries which they have committed upon us. Have no compassion upon them; attack with vigor."

A copy of this fell, by good fortune, into the hands of our officers, and they were able to take measures to control the rising, which was actually attempted on the night of February 22, a week later than was originally contemplated. A considerable number of armed insurgents entered the city by waterways and swamps, and, in concert with confederates inside, attempted to destroy Manila by fire. They were kept in check during the night, and the next day driven out of the city, with heavy loss.

#### What the Commission Found.

This was the unhappy condition of affairs which confronted our commissioners on their arrival in Manila. They had come with the hope and intention of co-operation with Admiral Dewey and Major-General Otis in establishing peace and order in the archipelago, and the largest measure of self-government compatible with the true welfare of the people. What they actually found can best be set forth in their own words:

"Deploable as war is, the one in which we are now engaged was unavoidable by us. We were attacked by a bold, adventurous and enthusiastic army. No alternative was left us, except ignominious retreat. It is not to be concealed that any American would have sanctioned the surrender of Manila to the insurgents, our obligations to other nations and to the friendly Filipinos and to ourselves and our flag demanded that force should be met with force. Whatever the future of the Philippines may be, there is no course open to us now except the prosecution of the war until the insurgents are reduced to submission. The commission is of the opinion that there has been no time since the destruction of the Spanish squadron by Admiral Dewey when it was possible to withdraw our forces from the islands either with honor to ourselves or with safety to the inhabitants."

The course thus clearly indicated has been unflinchingly pursued. The rebellion must be put down. Civil government cannot be thoroughly established until order is restored. With a devotion and gallantry worthy of its most brilliant history, the army, ably and loyally assisted by the navy, has carried on this unwelcome but most righteous campaign with richly deserved success. The noble self-sacrifice with which our soldiers and sailors, whose terms of service had expired, refused to avail themselves of their right to return home as long as they were needed at the front, forms one of the brightest pages in our annals. Although their operations have been somewhat interrupted and checked by a rainy season of unusual violence and duration, they have gained ground steadily in every direction, and now look forward confidently to a speedy completion of their task.

The unfavorable circumstances connected with an active campaign have not been permitted to interfere with the equally important work of reconstruction. Again I invite your attention to the report of the commissioners for the interesting and encouraging details of the work already accomplished in the establishment of peace and order and the inauguration of self-governing municipal life in many portions of the archipelago.

#### Civil Government in Negros.

A notable beginning has been made in the establishment of a government in the island of Negros, which is deserving of special consideration. This was the first island to accept American sovereignty. Its people unreservedly proclaimed allegiance to the United States, and adopted a constitution looking to the establishment of a popular government. It was impossible to guarantee to the people of Negros that the constitution so adopted should be the ultimate form of government. Such a question, under the treaty with Spain and in accordance with our own constitution and laws, came exclusively under the jurisdiction of congress. The government actually set up by the inhabitants of Negros eventually proved unsatisfactory to the natives themselves. A new system was put into force by order of the major-general commanding the department, of which the following are the most important elements:

It was ordered that the government of the island of Negros should consist of a military governor, appointed by the United States military governor of the Philippines, and a civil governor and an advisory council elected by the people. The military governor was authorized to appoint secretaries of the treasury, interior, agriculture, public instruction, an attorney-general and an auditor. The seat of government was fixed at Bacolor. The military governor exercises the supreme executive power. He is to see that the laws are executed, appoint to offices and fill all vacancies in office not otherwise provided for, and may, with the approval of the military governor of the Philippines, remove any officer from office. The civil governor advises the military governor on all public and civil questions, and presides over the advisory council. He, in general, performs the duties which

are performed by secretaries of state in our own system of government. The advisory council consists of eight members elected by the people within territorial limits, which are defined in the order of the commanding general.

#### Agreement With Sultan of Sulu.

The authorities of the Billu Islands have accepted the succession of the United States to the rights of Spain, and our flag floats over that territory. On the 10th of August, 1899, Brigadier-General Bates, United States volunteer, negotiated an agreement with the sultan and his principal chiefs, which I transmit herewith.

#### Rebellion Nearly Ended.

I communicate these facts to the congress for its information and action. Everything indicates that with the speedy suppression of the Tagal rebellion, life in the archipelago will soon assume its ordinary course under the protection of our sovereignty, and the people of those favored islands will enjoy a prosperity and a freedom which they have never before known. Already hundreds of schools are open and filled with children. Religious freedom is sacredly assured and enjoyed, and the courts are dispensing justice. Business is beginning to circulate in its accustomed channels. Manila, whose inhabitants were fleeing to the country a few months ago, is now a populous and thriving mart of commerce. The earnest and unremitting endeavors of the commission and the admiral and major-general commanding the department of the Pacific, to assure the people of the beneficent intentions of this government, have had their legitimate effect in convincing the great mass of them that peace and safety and prosperity and stable government can only be found in a loyal acceptance of the authority of the United States.

#### The Duty of Congress.

The future government of the Philippines rests with the congress of the United States. Few graver responsibilities have ever been confided to us. We accept them in a spirit worthy of our race and traditions, great opportunity comes with them. The islands lie under the shelter of our flag. They are ours by every title of law and equity. They cannot be abandoned. If we desert them we leave them at once to anarchy and finally to barbarism. We fling them, a golden apple of discord, among the rival powers, no one of which would permit another to seize them unquestioned. Their rich plains and valleys would be the scene of endless strife and bloodshed. The advent of Dewey's fleet in Manila bay, instead of being, as we hope, the dawn of a new day of freedom and progress, would have been the beginning of an era of misery and violence worse than any which has darkened their unhappy past.

It does not seem desirable that I should recommend at this time a specific form of government for these islands. When peace shall be restored it will be the duty of congress to construct a plan of government which shall establish and maintain freedom and order and peace in the Philippines. The insurrection is still existing, and when it terminates, further information will be required as to the actual condition of affairs before inaugurating a permanent scheme of civil government.

#### THE PUERTO RICANS.

##### Hardships Worked by the Laws at Present in Force.

I recommend that legislation to the same end be had with reference to Puerto Rico. The time is ripe for the adoption of a temporary form of government for this island, and many suggestions made with reference to Alaska are applicable also to Puerto Rico. The system of civil jurisprudence now adopted by the people of this island is described by competent lawyers who are familiar with it, as thoroughly modern and scientific, so far as it relates to matters of internal business, trade, production and social and private rights in general. The cities of the island are governed under charters which probably require very little or no change. So that with relation to matters of local concern and private rights, it is not probable that much, if any, legislation is desirable; but with reference to public administration and the relations of the islands to the federal government there are many matters which are of pressing urgency.

#### OTHER MATTERS DISCUSSED.

##### Mob Law Denounced—Lynchings Must Not Be Tolerated.

The love of law and sense of obedience and submission to the lawfully constituted tribunals are imbedded in the hearts of our people, and any violation of these sentiments and disregard of their obligations justly arouses public condemnation. The guaranties of life, liberty and of civil rights should be faithfully upheld; the right of trial by jury respected and defended. The rule of the courts should assure the public of the prompt trial of those charged with criminal offense, and upon conviction the punishment should be commensurate with the enormity of the crime. Those who in disregard of law and public peace, unwilling to await the judgment of court and jury, constitute themselves judges and executioners should not escape the severest penalties of their crimes.

#### Extending the Classified Service.

The executive order of May 6, 1896, extending the limits of the classified service, brought within the operation of all of the civil service law and rules nearly all of the executive civil service not previously classified. Some of the inclusions were found wholly incorrect and unsuited to the work of the several departments. The application of the rules to many of the places so included was found to result in friction and embarrassment. After long and very thorough consideration, it became evident to the heads of the departments responsible for their efficiency that in order to remove these difficulties and promote an efficient and harmonious administration, certain amendments were necessary. These amendments were promulgated by me in executive order dated May 23, 1899.

#### Responsibilities of Congress.

Presented to this congress are great opportunities. With them come great responsibilities. The power confided to us increases the weight of our obligations to the people, and we must be profoundly sensitive of them as we contemplate the new and grave problems which confront us. Aiming only at the public good, we cannot err. A right interpretation of the people's will and of duty cannot fail to insure wise measures for the welfare of the islands which have come under the authority of the United States, and into the common interest and lasting honor of our country.

Never has this nation had more abundant cause than during the past year for thankfulness to God for manifold blessing and mercies, for which we make reverent acknowledgment.

WILLIAM M'KINLEY.